

A-154

**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE****EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**

DOS Review Completed.

1972 OCT 30 PM 5 43  
T O P S E C R E T 302200Z OCT 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER  
TO : AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
CITE: WHS2307

DELIVER IMMEDIATELY UPON OPENING OF BUSINESS

OCTOBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

1. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED AN OMINOUS MESSAGE FROM THE NORTH VIETNAMESE IN RESPONSE TO OUR OCTOBER 27 NOTE WHICH SUGGESTED A NOVEMBER 1 MEETING IN PARIS. THEIR NOTE TODAY SIMPLY SAYS THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED OUR MESSAGE, ARE STUDYING IT VERY CAREFULLY, AND WILL REPLY AT A LATER DATE. WE THINK ALL SIGNS POINT TO THE LIKELIHOOD OF THEIR LAUNCHING A MAJOR ATTACK TOMORROW, OCTOBER 31, FOR OUR NOT MEETING THE DEADLINE AND USING THE VERBATIM MESSAGES WE SENT THEM FROM SAIGON WHICH YOU HAVE SEEN.

2. IF THIS HAPPENS, OBVIOUSLY ONE OF OUR MAJOR PROBLEMS WILL BE WITH THIEU AND GVN, AS ALREADY FORESHADOWED IN THEIR OCTOBER 28 MEMORANDUM AND THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE SENT TO YOU IN WHS2304. THEREFORE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WHEN YOU SEE THIEU YOU DO YOUR BEST TO HEAD OFF THIS PROBLEM. YOU SHOULD REEMPHASIZE THAT ALL EXCHANGES CONCERNING THE TEXT AND SCHEDULE WERE ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS AND CONTINGENT UPON GVN AGREEMENT. IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REVEAL THE RECORD, THEY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY USE SELECTIVE QUOTATIONS AND STATEMENTS OUT OF CONTEXT TO MAKE THE MOST DAMAGING CASE. THAT OUR UNDERTAKINGS WERE AD REFERENDUM HAS BEEN CLEARLY PROVED BY THE FACT THAT WE HAVE AGREED TO SEEK CHANGES IN THE TEXT AND THE ILLUSTRATIVE DEADLINES HAVE NOT BEEN MET.

3. CERTAINLY ONE OF HANOI'S MAJOR OBJECTIVES WILL BE TO FURTHER DIVIDE THE GVN AND US. THIEU HAS GOT TO UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS IN OUR OVERRIDING MUTUAL INTEREST TO STAND TOGETHER AND NOT LET THE COMMUNISTS DIVIDE US. YOU MUST THEREFORE SEEK TO MAKE HIM UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF OUR EXCHANGES WITH THE DRV AND YOU MUST IMPRESS UPON HIM THE ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT FOR US-GVN UNITY. IF HANOI DOES GO PUBLIC, THE GVN MUST CONCENTRATE ITS FIRE ON THE ENEMY AND NOT ON AN ALLY THAT HAS DONE AND WILL DO SO MUCH TO SUPPORT SOUTH VIETNAM.

4. WARM REGARDS

**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE****EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**